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The Egyptian Press

A Research Paper

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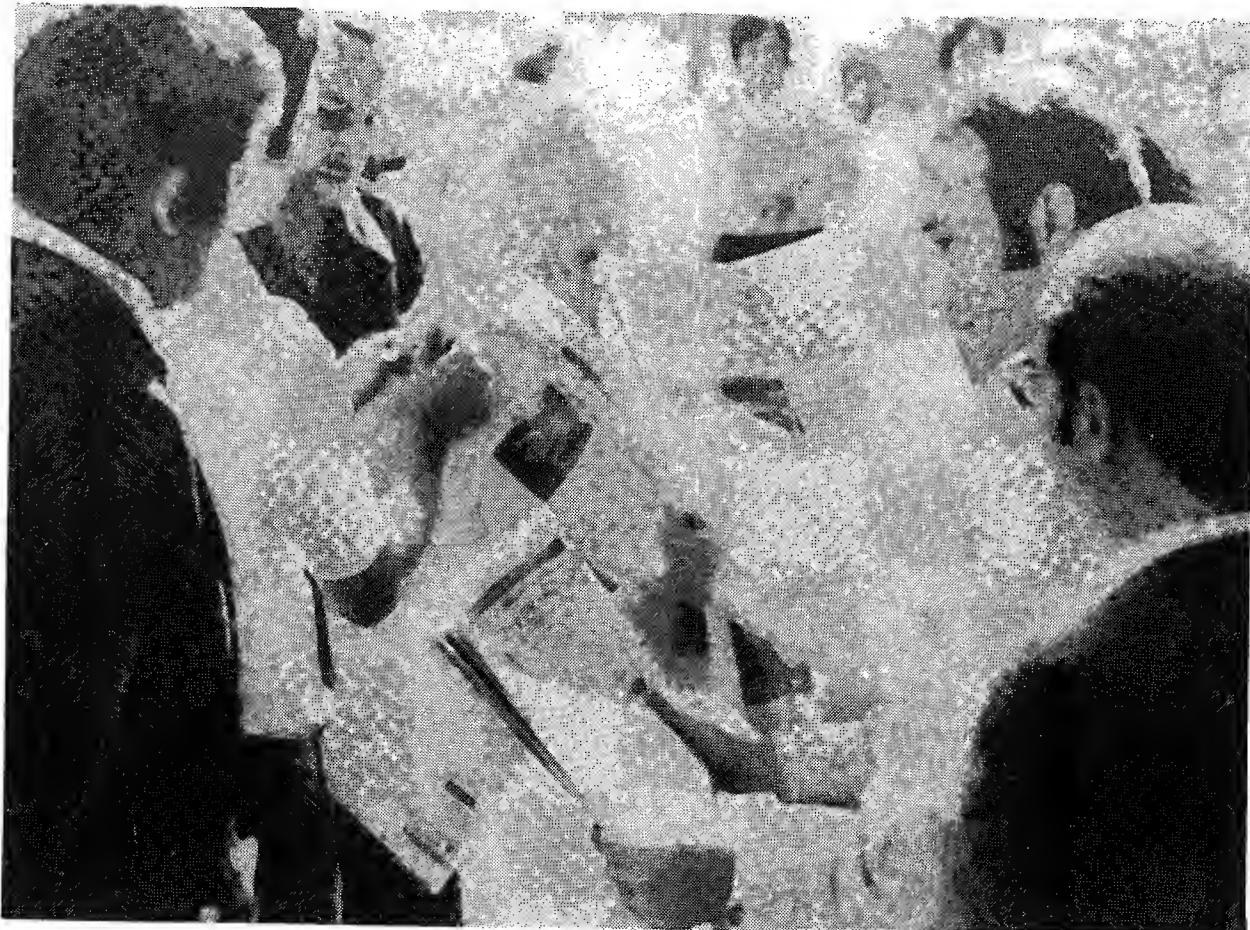
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Egyptians pause in the street to read morning dailies. Six individuals share three papers.

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The Egyptian Press

Introduction

The Egyptian press, although no longer preeminent in the Middle East, is certainly one of the most lively and interesting owing to its relative freedom and to the diversity of ideologies of its journalists. The Egyptian press is also important because of sheer numbers: it is the most widely read press in the Arab world, with a daily circulation-to-population ratio of 18 percent (for comparison, the US ratio is 29 percent). The press reaches all classes. Although readership is limited by Egypt's 65-percent illiteracy rate, this is mitigated by the traditional practice of reading papers aloud at informal gatherings. [redacted]

Press Freedom

In theory, freedom of expression is a constitutional guarantee in Egypt. In fact, all the principal forms of public information operate under the control of those government ministries concerned with information policy. Under President Sadat—who retains the prerogative of appointing editorial staffs—journalists are expected to exercise discretion and responsibility "in the national interest," and any journalist who fails to do so is prevented from publishing. Guidelines for the media are fairly rigid and political debate is, therefore, somewhat muted. Details of the relationship between the press and the new government organized under Sadat's National Democratic Party are still being worked out; but, clearly, a degree of control will remain in effect. [redacted]

Egyptian journalists who have overstepped publication guidelines are not actually relieved of their duties. Customarily they continue to report to work and draw salaries—often for years—as well as retain their pension eligibility. Their political material is not published, but their nonpolitical literary works are. Frequently they are demoted or transferred by presidential decree; some continue to publish elsewhere in the Arab world. Many are ultimately reinstated, again by presidential decree. [redacted]

Censorship can also take the form of government's withholding lucrative advertising revenues from a paper, removal of journalists from the press guild, denying licenses, court-ordered press seizures, and manipulation of prices for newsprint distribution. [redacted]

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General Character

In format, Egyptian newspapers and periodicals resemble leading American publications. Although major headlines normally are printed in red ink, the press on the whole is not sensationalist; crime stories and stories concerning the private lives of celebrities are seldom featured. [redacted]

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Another characteristic of the Egyptian press is its cult of journalists. The press corps comprises many talented political analysts, most of whom are socialist-oriented. Because of their skill with the written word and the high literary quality of their work—always important factors in Arabic-speaking societies—they have large followings. The fact that the work of many of these journalists appears only rarely serves to increase their popular appeal. [redacted]

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Politics is prominently featured in the Egyptian press. For international affairs, straight reporting tends to reflect government-inspired guidelines, while commentary and debate are relatively stifled. Internal issues, on the other hand, are the subject of lively debate and criticism, as is economic news. Individual papers feature the political commentary of journalists whose work is known and admired. [redacted]

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Domestic (and some foreign) news is distributed in Egypt by the government-owned Middle East News Agency (MENA), the only indigenous news agency. Egyptian papers have few foreign correspondents, but international news is distributed by foreign wire services: Agence France-Presse, Associated Press, United Press International, *New York Times*, Reuters, and TASS. Because Egypt is not a signatory of any copyright convention, foreign material is reproduced freely without necessarily following or crediting the original source. [redacted]

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Egyptian reads al-Ahram edition carrying draft text of the Egyptian-Israeli peace treaty.

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Organization, Ownership, and Finance

The major Egyptian publications are accounted for by five commercial newspaper publishers, al-Ahram, al-Tahrir, al-Hilal, Rose (Ruz) al-Yusuf, and Akhbar al-Yawm; one book publisher, Dar al-Maarif; and three interest groups (see the appendix). Each of the five commercial publishers has a board of directors and an editorial board appointed by Sadat. All papers are printed in Cairo and distributed nationally. Most have wide foreign distribution as well. [redacted]

Unlike most Arab countries, Egyptian newspapers are not owned by the state. Two sets of financial arrangements exist, one for the commercial press and another for the partisan papers. [redacted]

Commercial papers are operated as what the Egyptian Government calls public authorities. This means that they are quasi-cooperatives, partly owned by their staffs. Before 1960 the papers were privately owned; a press reorganization law nationalized them and vested their property in what was to become Egypt's only political party, the Arab Socialist Union (ASU). As conceived, the government was to have no financial role in this scheme. The papers were to operate competitively and profitably under the ASU network. [redacted]

In the summer of 1978 Sadat reorganized the political party system, creating a new National Democratic Party. This party now serves as the framework for all legitimate political activity in Egypt. How the newspapers will be organized under this system, which relegates the ASU to a consultative council, is unclear. A constitutional amendment and implementing legislation to clarify the status of the press have not yet been drafted. [redacted]

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Under the present system, assets of the commercial press are collectively owned by the ASU (51 percent) and the respective staffs (49 percent) in a theoretical profit-sharing scheme. There is, however, little profit to share. The commercial papers are unable to meet their operating costs, and are currently able to publish only with government subsidies. Whether foreign governments are subsidizing the Egyptian papers or individual journalists, as they have done in the past, is unknown. [redacted]

Two major factors contributing to the financial distress of the press cannot be resolved under the present system: the large number of staff members who are not allowed to write, but who receive full salaries and fringe benefits, and the high cost of newsprint worldwide. Egypt imports all its newsprint, and the varying quality used by each paper gives some indication of the paper's relative solvency. [redacted]

The partisan press operates under a different system. Each paper must name a single individual who is responsible for content and who must answer to the government for any aberrations. Papers identified with political parties operate loosely under the ASU framework, and apparently control their own finances. Religious groups also publish—completely independent of ASU—and provide their own funds. [redacted]

The Egyptian Press Today

Cairo's reputation as a center of progressive Arab journalism has declined in favor of presses in Kuwait and Lebanon. Many factors have contributed to this situation, but the most salient factor is President Sadat's current policy of information management and his desire to divest the press of leftist elements. [redacted]

It is said that following riots in January 1977, true opposition in the press was effectively silenced and has resurfaced only tentatively in the ensuing year. The leading leftist establishment presses, both staffed by talented analysts, were suppressed. One, *al-Talih*, was simply closed down; the other *Rose al-Yusuf* was effectively muzzled. [redacted]

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Nevertheless, individual revolts recur in the press corps. Almost on a monthly basis an analyst will publish an article unpalatable to the regime. In most cases the journalist will be retired and then rehabilitated after a few weeks. Habitual offenders are demoted. These occasional criticisms give the Egyptian press a vitality lacking in most of the rubber-stamp presses of the Middle East, and may even enhance its credibility. [redacted]

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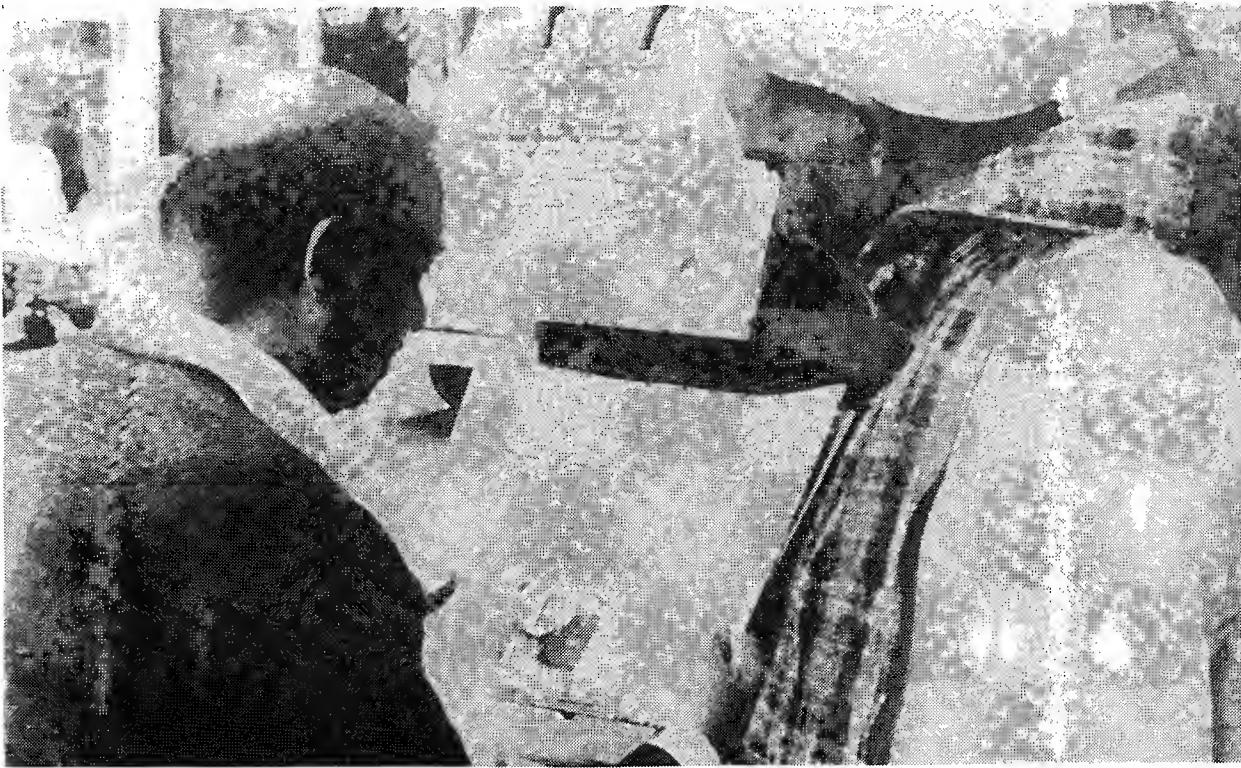
The patronage system has, since the days of former President Abd-al-Nasir, played a significant role in the Egyptian press. A close working relationship developed between the President and a journalist, Muhammad Haykal. Haykal subsequently became the mouthpiece for Egypt's foreign policy to the exclusion of other journalists. The international community—as well as Egyptians—regarded his columns as reflecting Abd-al-Nasir's thinking. Sadat has continued this system to some extent. He has had a succession of mouthpieces. He tends at present, however, not to use any single individual, distributing his "exclusives" rather evenly among the lot. If any journalists are favored in Egypt today, they are Anis Mansur of *October* for foreign affairs and Musa Sabri of *Akhbar al-Yawm* for domestic issues. [redacted]

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Sadat, perhaps recognizing some of the weaknesses of the press system and seeking to upgrade the information apparatus generally, has moved in recent months to secure outside help. Concerned initially with the presidential press office and national television, Sadat has commissioned and received assessments and recommendations from American consultants on how more effectively to present government programs. [redacted]

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Newsstand operator and customer read al-Ahram.

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Commercial Press: Dailies¹

Three Arabic-language dailies, *al-Ahram*, *al-Akhbar*, and *al-Jumhuriya*, dominate the press scene in Egypt, and are widely read in the Arab world. The remaining dailies are insignificant. One, *Al-Masaa*, is an Arabic-language evening paper with a circulation of 50,000. [redacted]

Three dailies are foreign-language publications: *The Egyptian Gazette*, *Le Journal d'Egypte*, and *Le Progres Egyptien*, the last two morning and evening papers, respectively. The French papers have circulations of less than 3,000 each; the *Gazette*, 8,000. These papers are little read by Egyptians. They serve primarily to transmit government views to foreigners, and as such their content may at times differ from that

¹ Circulation figures in this section are those published by the Egyptian Embassy, Washington, spring of 1978. [redacted]

of the Arabic press. For instance, the *Egyptian Gazette* was the only Egyptian paper to criticize Israeli Prime Minister Begin by name in the pre - Camp David media blitz. [redacted]

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One fact, however, is very significant about these foreign language papers: they are never used by Sadat as a dumping ground for out-of-favor journalists as are Arabic-language publications. [redacted]

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Al-Ahram

Al-Ahram (*The Pyramids*), founded in 1875, is the oldest and best known Arabic-language paper in the Middle East. The *al-Ahram* organization resembles a Western communications conglomerate. In addition to the daily paper the organization publishes two quarterly journals, one each in economics and international affairs. The organization runs a commercial print shop, an advertising agency, and a microfilm and computer center; it has an interest in a ballpoint pen factory and nearly monopolizes the import of foreign language newspapers and magazines. [redacted]

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Al-Ahram, however, no longer occupies the preeminent position it once held in the Middle East. The paper does continue its tradition of reliable coverage and is probably Egypt's most serious paper. [redacted]

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In the Nasir era, *al-Ahram*'s editor, Muhammad Haykal, was a presidential confidant, and for this reason as well as Haykal's own skill the paper came to be regarded as "authoritative," and was the outstanding journal of record in the area. In the Sadat years the paper's status declined somewhat; initially regarded as "semiofficial," the paper is currently most accurately regarded as first among equals in the Egyptian press. [redacted]



Al-Ahram's editor,
Ali al-Jamal.

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Much of the decline in *al-Ahram*'s status is probably the result of deliberate action by Sadat as part of a concerted, if erratic, policy of information management. In 1974 Haykal was dismissed and replaced with a succession of editors culminating with the appointment of Ali Hamdi al-Jamal in May 1978. Although these editors did not change the essentially sober tone of the paper, its prestige was progressively diminished, and the net result was to bring the paper more firmly under government control. At the same time the paper was removed from the intimate association with the regime it once enjoyed, and Sadat reinforces this by not using *al-Ahram* exclusively to air his views. [redacted]

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[redacted]

Al-Ahram's staff consists of some of the best political minds in Egypt, but many see their material in print only rarely. This roster includes:

Ihsan Abd-al-Qaddus	Best selling novelist, Marxist intellectual, and career journalist
Muhammad Sid Ahmad	Articulate political spokesman, leading Marxist intellectual
Louis Awad	Marxist intellectual, distinguished literary critic, and scholar (former head of English Department at Cairo University) who often represents Egypt at international seminars of scholars
Ahmad Baha-al-Din	Former <i>al-Ahram</i> editor and present editor of Kuwaiti monthly <i>al-Arabi</i>
Ahmad Lutfi al-Khawli	Playwright and political writer active in politics, especially international affairs; famous Marxist intellectual with extensive Soviet and European Communist party contacts
Nagib Mahfuz	Distinguished novelist
Salah Shahin	Political cartoonist known for exquisite caricatures and biting wit

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This tabulation is [redacted]

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Al-Ahram's circulation is 750,000 (1 million on weekends); the paper is consistently Western-oriented and has exclusive rights in the Arab world to translate and use the *New York Times* news service. [redacted]

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Al-Akhbar

Al-Akhbar (The News), with its Saturday edition *Akhbar al-Yawm (News of the Day)*, is the daily with the largest circulation (700,000 daily; 1,300,000 Saturday) in the Arab world, and is consequently a powerful news organ in Egypt. The paper was founded during World War II by two brothers, Mustafa and Ali Amin, who ran it successfully until the 1960s. The Amins were critical of Nasir, and the paper's influence diminished steadily under his rule. [redacted]

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Subsequent to nationalization under Nasir, *al-Akhbar* was run by Khalid Muhyi-al-Din as the designated propaganda organ of Arab Socialism. After Sadat became president, *al-Akhbar* passed to Amin protege and Haykal rival Musa Sabri; it was returned to the Amins in 1974. The Amins were popular journalists in Cairo and the paper's circulation accordingly skyrocketed. Since 1976, although editorship has reverted to Sabri, the Amin name is featured prominently in the masthead and Mustafa Amin continues to write an important daily column, "An Idea." [redacted]

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Al-Akhbar is characterized by an eye-catching layout and a sensational news slant. Columnists emphasize muckraking, which largely accounts for the paper's popular appeal. *Akhbar al-Yawm*, the weekend edition, is an expanded version containing extensive sociopolitical features. The paper's policy—except for the Muhyi-al-Din interlude in the mid-1960s—has been pro-Western. This is largely due to the influence of the Amins and their protege, editor Musa Sabri. The paper maintains a distinctly anti-Communist position and stresses the importance of Egyptian cooperation with the United States and of the vital role the United States should play in the Middle East. Moreover, in

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recent times Sadat has used *al-Akhbar* to surface ideas in much the same way Nasir used *al-Ahram*. [redacted]

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Al-Jumhuriya

Originally founded by former President Nasir as the organ of the 1952 revolution with Anwar al-Sadat as its first editor, *al-Jumhuriya (The Republic)* has never really established itself as a great paper. The paper's circulation (100,000) is the lowest of the three dailies, and it is accordingly beset with greater financial difficulties than the others. The paper, reflecting its editor, Muhsin Muhammad, [redacted] Muhammad was appointed in 1975 to give the paper new direction, but financial difficulties have hampered his efforts. Although *al-Jumhuriya* tends toward the political left more than the other dailies, it maintains an essentially middle-of-the-road posture, and recently has attempted under Muhammad to establish its individuality with daily economic, financial, and sports coverage. [redacted]

The Arabic-language dailies average 10-20 pages an issue and use varying qualities of newsprint. That of *al-Ahram* is the best quality; *al-Akhbar* uses two: a reasonably good quality paper for the interior pages combined with rougher newsprint for the cover.

Al-Jumhuriya uses newsprint of uneven quality. All three have the same 2-piaster (3-cent) newsstand price. [redacted]

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Commercial Weeklies ²

Several papers are published in Egypt on a weekly or monthly basis. The most important of these are *al-Musawwar*, *October*, and *Rose al-Yusuf* and the three partisan papers, *al-Dawah (Muslim Brotherhood)*, *al-Ahrar (rightist)*, and *al-Ahali (leftist)*. [redacted]

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Al-Musawwar

Al-Musawwar (Illustrated) was the original (founded in 1944) pictorial magazine in Egypt, but does not have the preeminence it once had. Its publisher, Amina al-Said, is a Western-oriented career journalist with a strong professional reputation. *Al-Musawwar* concentrates on social and political articles and is generally

² Circulation figures in this section are those provided by the US Embassy Press Section, Cairo, spring of 1976. [redacted]

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positive toward the United States. It is one of the few commercial papers in Egypt that does not subscribe to a wire service. [redacted]

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Al-Musawwar is published on slick paper, averaging 60-70 pages per issue; reproduction of its color photography is not good, but the black and white photos are adequate. The paper's circulation is 80,000; distribution outside Egypt is about 20,000. [redacted]

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October

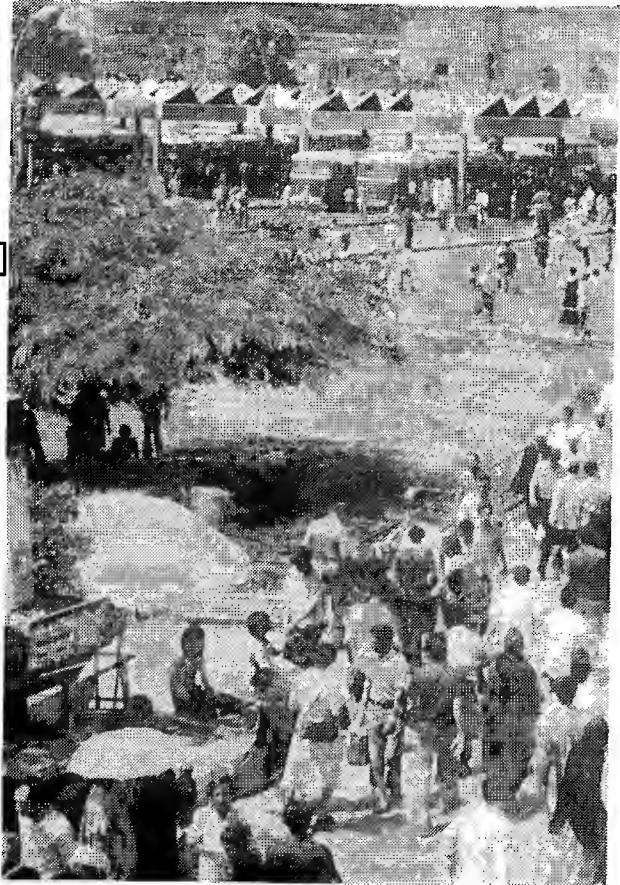
Named in commemoration of the date—6 October—of the 1973 Middle Eastern war, *October* is the most widely read Egyptian pictorial magazine. It should be noted, however, that the paper's success must be due in part to the substantial government support initially given the paper. The editor, Anis Mansur, is close to Sadat; the paper reportedly never obtained the requisite publication license, and the October Press Establishment address is the same as the prestigious government publishing house, Dar al-Maarif. Moreover, the day before *October*'s first issue appeared, all papers published the message which Sadat addressed to *October*'s editorial board wishing them success. [redacted]

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October deals with a wide range of subjects including politics, sports, movie reviews, high-quality fiction, fashions, and puzzles. The periodical broadly reflects Egyptian Government policy toward the United States; it is friendly toward the United States on general matters, but tends to be nationalistic on Middle East questions. [redacted]

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The ink and paper of *October* are of better quality than those used by any other Egyptian periodical. The paper, averaging 70 to 80 pages, has numerous well-executed color advertisements and excellent color reproduction. Present circulation figures are not available. [redacted]

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Rose (Ruz) al-Yusuf

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This paper is named for its founder, who started the paper after retiring from a brilliant theatrical career in the early part of this century. Fatima (Rose) al-Yusuf was also the mother of influential news commentator Ihsan Abd-al-Qaddus, under whose directorship the paper developed into a popular and highly successful publication. [redacted]



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Daily outpouring of people throngs past newsstand. [redacted]

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Rose al-Yusuf is a paper which deals with social and political issues, commentary, and some items of general interest such as movie reviews. Traditionally oriented to the left and enjoying good circulation among Egyptian intellectuals because of its aggressive style of opposition, the paper underwent a dramatic transformation following the January 1977 riots. Its Communist editor, renowned novelist and screenwriter Abd-al-Rahman al-Sharqawi, was replaced by the current editor and board chairman Mursi al-Shafi; Abd-al-Aziz Khamis was appointed managing editor. Both men are longtime journalists with undistinguished careers and both are strongly anti-Communist; their appointment to *Rose al-Yusuf* is clearly a government measure to control Marxist influence on the paper. [redacted]

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Rose al-Yusuf today is an undistinguished current events and commentary magazine, the size and format of *Time*, printed on good stock with slick pages of color advertisements. It does not use wire service reports and has lost its appeal to intellectual readers. [redacted]

The remaining weekly papers are less significant. Their lack of importance is further underscored by the fact that they are never used as a dumping ground for out-of-favor journalists. The reason for this is unclear. [redacted]

Akhir Saa (Last Minute) is a political, economic, and social periodical that uses neither wire service reports nor signed opinion columns or articles. It concentrates on photograph-supported stories and is essentially friendly to the United States, following official policy on foreign affairs. Circulation: 100,000. [redacted]

Hawwa (Eve) is a women's general interest magazine founded by Amina al-Said in 1940 and still published by her. Circulation: 120,000. [redacted]

The Middle East Observer bills itself as "the leading economic newspaper covering the Middle East and African markets." The paper deals primarily with commercial reporting and financial analysis. [redacted]

Sabah al-Khayr addresses itself to younger audiences. Its articles are sociopolitical in nature, presented in a satirical or humorous format. Circulation: 85,000. [redacted]

The Partisan Press: Weeklies³ [redacted]

In the wake of the establishment of a multiparty political system in early 1976 and President Sadat's proposed liberalization of press policies, three new weekly papers appeared, each readily identifiable with a particular party or group. [redacted]

Al-Dawah

The first paper to emerge under the new system was *al-Dawah (The Call)*, the organ of the Muslim Brotherhood. The Muslim Brotherhood, originally organized

to combat the steadily increasing inroads of Western ideas and secularization in Egypt (and in other Muslim countries as well), maintains that society must be reformed in terms of the basic principles of Islam and seeks to inculcate these and similar notions through its publication. The Brotherhood's demand for the integration of a fundamentalist type of Islam with a traditional Islamic political system and a modern social welfare system is ultimately not immoderate, but the society has been opposed by Arab governments since its inception because of the clandestine activities and use of violence to which members traditionally have resorted. [redacted]

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Whatever the rationale, the present situation appears provisionally tolerable to both Sadat and the Brotherhood. The group is cautious lest its activity cause the government to reverse its attitude. [redacted]

[redacted] although neither the society nor the paper has any official status, they do not interfere with publication. To date the paper's publication has not been affected by the political reorganization under Sadat's new National Democratic Party. [redacted]

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Al-Dawah today does not consider itself a new paper, but rather identifies itself as the continuation of an older paper, bearing the same name, which was banned for more than 20 years. Current issues prominently display the Brotherhood insignia and motto attesting to the nobility of the Quran. Significantly, the first 1976 issue indicated that *al-Dawah* was in its 25th year of publication. [redacted]

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³ Circulation figures in this section are provided by the US Embassy, Cairo, spring of 1978. [redacted]

The paper is published in a sleek, well-executed magazine format, usually containing 70 to 80 pages printed on stock of very good quality. Photograph reproduction is excellent. It is currently printed by the Akhbar Press but its publishers plan to expand into new facilities, and reportedly have purchased new equipment and are awaiting delivery from abroad. *Al-Dawah*'s circulation is 70,000-80,000 copies, and it is distributed throughout Egypt as well as North America, Saudi Arabia, Sudan, and Syria. [redacted]

The editorial board consists of Umar al-Talmasani (chairman), Salih al-Ashmawi (editor-in-chief), and Salih Shadi. They are all over 60 years old, have been active in the society since before the revolution, and have served prison sentences for previous society activities. Talmasani (who was born in 1904) is the most visible member of the group, frequently acting as spokesman for the paper in international circles. Both he and Ashmawi have claimed to lead the Brotherhood in Egypt. Talmasani writes signed editorials in *al-Dawah* and, significantly, has access to other presses as well; in July 1977, for instance, Talmasani wrote a defense of the Brotherhood which appeared in *al-Jumhuriya*. Moreover, the presence of articles in *al-Dawah* by prominent Egyptians, including until recently the late Shaykh al-Azhar Dr. Abd-al-Halim Mahmud, indicates not only that this publication has a rather broad base of support, but also that these contributors perceive no disadvantage to such a connection, a further indication of the tolerance with which *al-Dawah* is currently received. [redacted]

The precise nature of the relationship between *al-Dawah*—and for that matter the Brotherhood itself—and Islamic societies at Egypt's universities is not clear. However, the Brotherhood clearly has an appeal to the emotions of many Egyptians and probably has more influence than its numbers would suggest. It is significant to note that receptivity to the fundamentalist version of Islam is particularly strong among urban, middle, and lower middle classes rather than among the uneducated rural masses. The Brotherhood is probably directly linked to the student societies—fluencing them if not controlling them outright—although no overt ties have been proved. [redacted]

Al-Dawah devotes considerable attention to the campus activities of the Brotherhood as well as to the student societies. Functions of the campus Islamic groups are regularly announced in the paper. Moreover, when in January 1976 students in Alexandria demonstrated in protest of Marxist student movements, one of their demands was for the establishment of a religious party to publish *al-Dawah*. [redacted]

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Thematically, *al-Dawah*'s platform condemns elements seen as undermining Egyptian society. The paper tends to emphasize theology and morals rather than straight news coverage. It treats current news obliquely, criticizing an existing situation while advancing the Islamic alternative. Other standard subjects are: the activities of the Brotherhood and its campaign for legalization, the place of Islam in society, news from the Islamic world, and enemies of the Islamic world, particularly Western ideological imperialism. The Middle East conflict is perceived as a struggle of Muslims against Jewish enemies who resort to any kind of ideological assistance. [redacted]

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In July 1978 the cover story, for instance, contained a lurid account of the sex-ridden and degenerate US culture, which, by implication, endangers Egypt. The open-door economic policy is denounced on grounds that foreign ideology and philosophy are the inevitable accompaniment of imported foreign technology and hardware. Similarly, the paper comments adversely on Israel and the peace process. [redacted]

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Al-Dawah appears to be flourishing financially, though without a visible means of support. Its newsstand price of 10 piasters (15 cents) is the same as that of comparable weekly magazines, but this sum could not cover publication costs. The paper does not receive the government subsidies the commercial papers do. Moreover, *al-Dawah* does not have the kind of advertising support from foreign markets that other magazines have, although this is probably by choice. Advertisements are confined to local products of a noncorrupting nature such as biscuit companies, stationery, and housewares. [redacted]

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Although Talmasani claims that the paper is published exclusively with indigenous financial backing, this is probably not true. The most probable outside sources of financial support, though for markedly different

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reasons, are Libya and Saudi Arabia. [redacted]

influence and perhaps to force its closure. Significantly, the campaign against *al-Ahrar* included attacks by prominent Egyptian journalists close to Sadat: Anis Mansur, writing in *October*, castigated the paper for opposing the government for opposition's sake. Musa Sabri, chairman of *Akhbar*, refused to print the paper in August 1978 because of *al-Ahrar*'s outstanding debts, and then referred Murad to "higher authorities"—presumably Sadat—when he appealed. [redacted]

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Al-Ahrar

Al-Ahrar (*The Liberals*), the paper of the rightist Social Liberal Party, appeared in November 1977 and was the second to emerge under the new political system. This party originated as the rightwing grouping of the Arab Socialist Union under the leadership of Parliamentarian Mustafa Kamal Murad, a Western-oriented businessman who appears to be the principal spokesman for the paper. The party apparatus remained intact after the governmental reorganization in which Sadat created the National Democratic Party, but it retained only about five deputies. Murad seems likely to continue as a vocal but ineffectual party leader. The paper's operations were suspended late in the summer of 1978 and have not resumed as expected after Camp David. Murad was told by Sadat in August that the paper had become too pointed and that it should suspend operations. [redacted]

In content *al-Ahrar* did not emphasize foreign affairs but tended to support the government's political line, including solid support for Sadat's peace initiatives—Murad accompanied Sadat to Jerusalem. The paper, however, devoted much attention to domestic issues and was strongly critical—as is Murad—of the government's economic policy. It called for greater freedom for the press and for private enterprise. The paper would devote an entire page to agriculture, dealing with issues such as irrigation, drainage, and animal husbandry problems. [redacted]

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Al-Ahrar was widely read by Egypt's urban elite; it appealed to private sector businessmen because of its heavy emphasis on economic reporting. It was also read by more enlightened farmers and had considerable success in reaching the village level where it was frequently seen in coffeehouses. [redacted]

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(1) The paper had since its inception serious problems with both staff and finances. Apparently, many good journalists were hesitant to leave the relative security of their positions to join *al-Ahrar*. For instance, Ali al-Fawli, the paper's chairman, did leave his position at MENA to join *al-Ahrar*, but returned to MENA immediately when *al-Ahrar*'s operations were suspended. The editor-in-chief is Salah Qabadya, former deputy editor-in-chief at *al-Akhbar*, who is known for a deft but sarcastic writing style. Other staff members are not known. [redacted]

Al-Ahrar had a professional style; its format and layout were exceptionally well executed. It was printed at the *Akhbar* Press and normally contained 12 pages. Despite its staffing and advertising problems, its issues were consistently hard hitting and professional. [redacted]

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Al-Ahali

Al-Ahali (*The Native Masses*) is the third paper to surface following political and press reorganizations. Organ of the leftist Progressive National Organization headed by Khalid Muhyi-al-Din, *al-Ahali* first appeared in February 1978. From May to December 1978 *al-Ahali* has appeared infrequently or not at all. The government contended that the paper misled the people, and its issues were confiscated. The paper maintains a decidedly antigovernment posture, concentrating its efforts on two fronts: domestic muckraking and the Marxist perspective on foreign affairs. [redacted]

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Financially, *al-Ahrar* was not well off; its 60,000 circulation fell short of Murad's intended 90,000-100,000. An almost total lack of advertising revenue was the main cause of *al-Ahrar*'s financial difficulties. The paper did not receive any advertising from either government or public sector companies, the principal sources in Egypt for advertising revenues, probably as part of a government campaign to limit the paper's

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Details of *al-Ahali*'s staff are not clear; Muhyi-al-Din, a Communist who was in the past editor of *al-Akhbar*, is closely associated with the staff. Except for the editor-in-chief (originally Muhyi-al-Din, although he was in the United States when the first issue appeared, and more recently—July 1978—Lutfi Wakid), the paper does not publish the names of editors. A number of well-known Egyptian Communist writers contribute to *al-Ahali*, often using pen names. [redacted]

Clearly, many famous writers do indeed write for *al-Ahali*, and a large part of the paper's appeal is the result of the fact that it features some of Egypt's best political writers. Many of the writers are "loaned" from the commercial papers, especially *al-Ahram*, in the sense that they are staff members elsewhere whose works are not published in their respective journals. It is reported that their work on *al-Ahali* is paid by the piece. [redacted]

Besides Muhyi-al-Din, *al-Ahram* staffers Lutfi al-Khawli and Muhammad Sid Ahmad, two of Egypt's best political writers, are known contributors to the paper. Muhammad Uduh, a Communist and long-time journalist is probably supervising editor. [redacted]

Although Muhyi-al-Din claims *al-Ahali* is "paid for by piasters of the poor," this is doubtful. A logical assumption is that there are donations from leftist party members. The actual means of support, whether Egyptian or foreign, is unclear, and the paper's financial status is a closely guarded secret. Certainly none of the paper's funding comes from advertising revenues, because the government has banned the sale of advertisements to *al-Ahali*. [redacted]

25X1

Al-Ahali's production is of reasonable quality although it is not up to the standard either of *al-Ahram* or the Cairo dailies. It does carry the best satirical cartoons printed in Egypt. Averaging 12 pages per issue, *al-Ahali*'s circulation is 100,000 copies. It was originally scheduled to be printed at the Rose al-Yusuf Press, but it is now printed at Taawun (Egyptian Cooperative Society Press). The readership of *al-Ahali* tends to be the urban elite intellectual class and the labor class from which the party derives much of its support. [redacted]

25X1

Al-Ahali projects an antigovernment stance with a combative flavor, but many of its views are widely shared in the intellectual community. The paper's writing style is confrontational rather than journalistic. [redacted]

25X1

An underlying leitmotif is defense of Nasirism and its principles, perceived to be nationalism, socialism, and Islamic traditionalism. According to this theme, shortcomings of Nasirism derive not from its principles, which in themselves are sound, but rather from faulty implementation. [redacted]

25X1

Other themes given prominent exposure in the paper are criticism of the government's foreign policies; attacks on its open-door economic policy (foreign banks are the source of Egypt's economic problems because they enmesh Egypt in the capitalist market system and contribute significantly to the country's backwardness); criticism of the United States with indirect praise for the USSR but no allusion to the People's Republic of China; and—unlike all other Egyptian papers—oblique praise for the "steadfast front" composed of Algeria, Iraq, Libya, the People's Democratic Republic of Yemen, and Syria. Underlying all these notions is a persistent and subtle attempt to instigate antigovernment sentiment. [redacted]

25X1

Through the medium of *al-Ahali*, journalist Muhammad Haykal issued a challenge to President Sadat in the spring of 1978. The 12 April issue carried a full-page interview with the out-of-favor journalist in which he appeared to be testing government tolerance for his resuming publication inside Egypt. Haykal had



Enthusiastic crowd greets Sadat's return from Israel, November 1977.

25X1

appeared in print in an Egyptian paper only once since his downfall in 1974. In the interview, orchestrated in a style to suggest Haykal himself had formulated both questions and responses, Haykal made a strong defense of Nasir's regime and explicitly criticized Sadat and his government at that time and called for the unification of Nasirists and leftists in Egypt. [redacted]

The Haykal interview—continued in several subsequent issues of *al-Ahali*—probably contributed to the government's decision to move against the paper. Subsequent issues were frequently confiscated and *al-Ahali* has since been available only sporadically and in limited numbers. Sadat, speaking to a press conference in May 1978, indicated that the paper might soon be closed down for what he called consistent poor quality. [redacted]

The Progressive National Organization, under increasing pressure to dissolve, decided to suspend operations, retaining the right to publish *al-Ahali*. After this suspension of activities, however, Muhyi-al-Din was apparently replaced as editor by Lutfi Wakid, described as a less doctrinaire Communist. In late October, following a summer of similar decisions, Egyptian courts upheld *al-Ahali's* right to publish. [redacted]

While the fate of the partisan press is unclear, because of the great demand for it among predominantly middle-class audiences, it must be regarded as a significant element of the Egyptian press scene. This is particularly true of *al-Ahali* and *al-Dawah*, representing the extreme left and the religious right, respectively. [redacted]

25X1

The two papers are similar in many respects. Both have broad-based support and wide readership, *al-Dawah* because of its religious appeal, *al-Ahali* because it

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features Egypt's most talented writers. Both appeal to intellectuals and other educated elite. Neither appears to have financial difficulties, and both are possibly supported from outside the country. Both are consistently instant sellouts; in times of scarcity, single copies of *al-Ahali* with a newsstand price of less than 3 cents have sold for more than \$140! [redacted]

X1

These papers have an importance greatly disproportionate to their circulation because their very existence injects an element of credibility into the press scene, and because they accordingly have the capacity to affect large audiences disenchanted with a dull commercial press. [redacted]

The Writers

X1

The Egyptian press milieu transforms its best journalists into cult figures. These journalists exert tremendous influence and are a force, collectively or individually, with which the regime must contend. One factor, then, in assessing the Egyptian press, is an understanding of the journalists themselves. [redacted]

Several elements underscore the importance of the journalist's influence in Egypt:

- Egyptians—like all Arabs—revere their language and give special respect to those who have achieved eloquence. The skill of a journalist rather than his association with a particular press ensures his prominence and readership and also tends to protect him from transitory political misfortunes.
- The government—which controls all media—recognizes the importance of individual journalists and thus tends to protect its favorites against the vagaries of the business and commercial aspects of the press.
- The greater freedom of the Egyptian press compared with other Arab media allows individual journalists to establish a more direct rapport with the readership. [redacted]

X1

Another striking characteristic of Egyptian journalism is the continuity of its writers. Every important figure in the Egyptian press today was a significant press figure in the days of King Faruq. The journalistic establishment has prevented new figures from gaining



Ihsan Abd-al-Qaddus,
writer and political analyst.

25X1

prominence. This breeds discontent among the younger Egyptian journalists, but facilitates an understanding of the individuals behind the presses in Egypt. [redacted]

Ihsan Abd-al-Qaddus (b. 1919)

Abd-al-Qaddus is one of Egypt's most talented political writers. He is a Marxist thinker and prolific writer of allegorical fiction. Ostensibly serving as a free-lance writer in self-imposed retirement, his precise role in the current press scenario is unclear. [redacted]

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25X

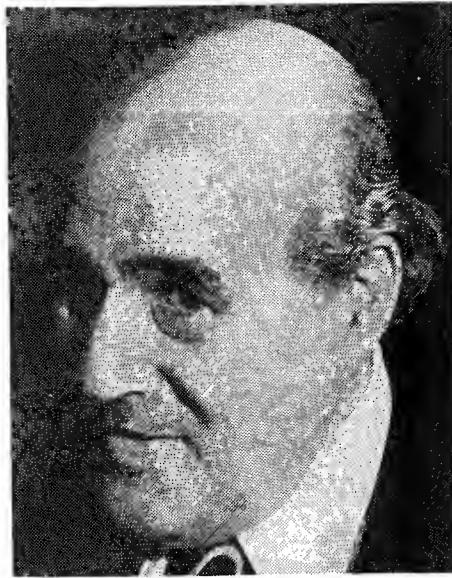
Sadat and Abd-al-Qaddus were once close; their relationship dates to before the revolution. Abd-al-Qaddus is always described as a supporter of Sadat's policies, but since his retirement as the editor of *al-Ahram* at the end of 1976, he has appeared only infrequently in the press. His most recent political commentaries have appeared exclusively in *October*, a periodical that seems to receive favored treatment under Sadat. [redacted]

25X1

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Muhammad Sid Ahmad and Lutfi al-Khawli

Ahmad and Khawli, noted Marxist intellectuals in Egypt, are among the country's outstanding political writers. Both are nonpublishing staff members of *Al-Ahram* and both are contributors to *al-Ahali*. The two are intimate friends; they are associates of Khalid Muhyi-al-Din, to whom Khawli is related by marriage.



Mustafa Amin of al-Akhbar.

Ahmad writes in a professional, scholarly style which has little mass appeal. Although he has a compelling interest in politics, his views represent an old-line elitist Marxism that is relatively harmless in contemporary Egypt. He is, however, described as one of the country's most articulate political spokesmen. Ahmad was interrogated along with Hasanayn Haykal in the summer of 1978 about his persistent use of the international media, allegedly, in the interests of Egypt's enemies.

Khawli, self-styled "political writer active in politics," concentrates on foreign affairs. He is the more activist of the pair, but he writes frequently of establishing proper ideological bases for subsequent activity. Both men have the admiration and respect of their colleagues in press and literary circles.

Mustafa Amin (b. 1914)

Mustafa Amin is a well-known novelist who writes an editorial column, "An Idea," which appears in the weekly *Akhbar al-Yawm* and daily *al-Akhbar*, which he and his brother Ali founded in the 1940s. He is highly regarded as a journalist and as a popular hero throughout the Arab world.

Al-Akhbar was nationalized under Nasir in order to enlist it in the propaganda machine of Arab Socialism, and Mustafa Amin was subsequently arrested, convicted, and imprisoned as a US agent. Sadat rehabilitated him in 1974 and appointed him editorial writer at *al-Ahram* under his brother, who had replaced Haykal there. Mustafa Amin's tenure at *al-Ahram*, where he was notorious for vindictive anti-Nasir editorials, was short-lived; after only six months he was transferred to editorial writer at *al-Akhbar*, the post he now holds. He continued his quasi-inflammatory tone at *Akhbar*, which was more in tune with the sensational character of the institution which he himself had established.

In August 1978 Amin was prohibited by President Sadat from political writing, presumably because of his oblique criticism of the political integrity of politicians rushing to join Sadat's nascent National Democratic Party. He continued to publish fiction. "An Idea" reappeared on 26 September 1978 in relatively subdued tone after a 40-day absence.

In view of the reputed close personal friendship between the two men, Sadat's unexpected reaction to Amin's criticism reinforced notions of Sadat's sensitivity to criticism while he was engaged in negotiations with Israel. It is not yet clear whether this latest Mustafa Amin incident, four years after Amin's removal from a position of power in the press establishment, signals his demise altogether as an influential journalist.

Mustafa Amin has, on the whole, been firmly entrenched in the pro-Western and pro-Sadat camps. He has been a very vocal supporter of Sadat's peace initiatives from the beginning. Indeed, this support has earned him the enmity of Arab extremists. There is no reason to believe he and Sadat do not remain friends—

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Amin owes to Sadat the commutation of his life prison sentence—but Sadat does well to remain a bit removed from the inflammatory pen of Amin. For instance, in January 1978 Amin brought international censure to Egypt in the wake of Sadat's Jerusalem trip with an editorial describing Israeli Prime Minister Begin as a Shylock. This notion may have described the private sentiments of Sadat and many other Egyptians, but Sadat may prefer for the sake of Egypt's image abroad that the irrepressible Amin write from a less prominent platform. On the other hand, a measure of his international acclaim is that only two months after the Shylock incident Amin received an award for excellence in journalism from the University of Missouri. [redacted]

Ahmad Baha-al-Din (b. 1927)

Ahmad Baha-al-Din is a noted Egyptian political analyst and leftist intellectual. He is currently editor of the Kuwaiti general interest monthly *al-Arabi*, which enjoys a wide circulation throughout the Arab world; an occasional contributor to *al-Ahram*; and a presidential speechwriter in Egypt. Baha-al-Din is generally considered by his colleagues in Egypt and abroad to be one of the best informed and balanced political observers in the Middle East. [redacted]

Baha-al-Din's prestige is based on a scholarly reputation (he has published many books in his primary fields of law and economics), a solid reputation for responsible journalism, and a personal reputation as a man of judgment and civic courage. [redacted]

In addition to his duties in Kuwait, Baha-al-Din, a Sadat supporter, travels frequently to Cairo where he often meets with the President. Baha-al-Din is useful to Sadat because of his high-level contacts in both Kuwait and Syria. [redacted]

Baha-al-Din's career is similar to that of many other Egyptian journalists. Trained as a lawyer and economist, he entered the field of journalism early and by the mid-1950s was editor of *Rose al-Yusuf*. He moved from there to positions on the editorial staff of *al-Akhbar* and the board of the *Akhbar al-Yawm* establishment under Mustafa Amin. In the mid-1960s, Baha-al-Din ran both the Hilal Press and *Rose al-Yusuf* and later moved to the *al-Ahram* board, where his fortunes ebbed and flowed. In 1972 and 1973 he was an editor and writer at *al-Ahram* under

Haykal. In mid-1973 he lost his job in a purge, but was reappointed as editor-in-chief in late 1974 after Haykal was removed and his successor Ali Amin transferred to *Akhbar*. Baha-al-Din's appointment at this time was to provide a tone of sobriety to *al-Ahram* in light of the sensationalist character the paper had developed under Amin, as well as to provide Sadat a link through the medium of the press to the socialist-inclined intellectual community. [redacted] 25X1

Baha-al-Din was apparently ineffectual at managing *al-Ahram*; a staff composed of elements of every possible political persuasion which had enjoyed immense freedom of expression under Haykal was difficult to control. Baha-al-Din was accordingly demoted in March 1975 to chief writer at *al-Ahram*, but subsequently (by October 1976) emerged as editor of *al-Arabi* while continuing to write for *al-Ahram*. Significantly, Baha-al-Din wrote an article in support of Sadat's peace initiatives in a March 1978 issue of the leftwing weekly *al-Ahali*. Writing on Egypt and Arab unity, Baha-al-Din reminds Egypt's detractors that unity is not Egypt's responsibility alone, but rather a goal to be sought by all Arabs. [redacted] 25X1

Muhammad Hasanayn Haykal (b. 1923)

Haykal, the most prominent and widely known Egyptian journalist, is less renowned for editorial excellence—although he can be a compelling writer—than for his reputation in past years as the spokesman of former President Nasir. Haykal abruptly fell from grace in February 1974. In the most dramatic event in recent Egyptian press history, President Sadat, climaxing a period of increasing disenchantment, removed Haykal from his positions as editor-in-chief of *al-Ahram* and board chairman of the *al-Ahram* establishment. Haykal, denied the platform of Egypt's leading daily and Sadat's support, has not subsequently played a visible role in Egyptian journalism. The single exception was a series of articles in April 1978 editions of the leftwing opposition weekly, *al-Ahali*. [redacted] 25X1

Haykal's behind-the-scene maneuvering in Europe during the past four years, however, combined with his international activity continue to make him a force in Egyptian journalism. Haykal is unquestionably an able writer and a man of considerable intellect. [redacted] 25X6

X6

[Redacted]

He was estranged from the president early in Sadat's tenure because he originally opposed Sadat's claim to power. Although the two men were subsequently reconciled, a pattern of mutual distrust was established, which continues today.

X6

X6

[Redacted]

Haykal's career in journalism began during World War II. In 1942 he was a crime reporter for the *Egyptian Gazette*, moving from there to the Akhbar Press, where by 1949 he was the leading political reporter on *Akhir Saa* and the paper's editor-in-chief two years later. During this period Haykal achieved a name for himself as an innovator of a racy new style of journalism. The Free Officers, particularly Nasir, admired him and began cultivating him at this time; Haykal was reportedly with the late president on the night of the coup (Haykal was the actual author of Nasir's autobiographical essay, *Philosophy of the Revolution*).

X1

Haykal was appointed managing editor of *al-Ahram* in 1957. He took over a nearly bankrupt establishment and shortly built it into the outstanding journal of record in the Arabic language. Haykal believed his mission was to inject a more serious element into Egyptian journalism. *Al-Ahram* accordingly developed Egypt's most balanced, reasonable, and reliable editorial policy. For this reason as well as technical ones—*al-Ahram* then had Egypt's most modern press equipment—the Nasir regime was anxious to enlist *al-Ahram* as its official mouthpiece. Nasir reserved the Akhbar al-Yawm establishment for propagandizing Arab Socialism.

X1



Journalist
Muhammad Haykal.

25X1

It may also be said of Haykal's tenure at *al-Ahram* that he not only encouraged thoughtful political debate by his own writing, but that his administration—paternalistic in style—tended to shelter journalists of every known political persuasion. It is frequently noted that during both the Nasir and Sadat periods, journalists unable to find work elsewhere because of their political beliefs were hired at *al-Ahram* and that, in their defense, Haykal would defy orders that they be expelled. Significantly the *al-Ahram* staff remained intensely loyal to him after his ouster, to the consternation of his successors.

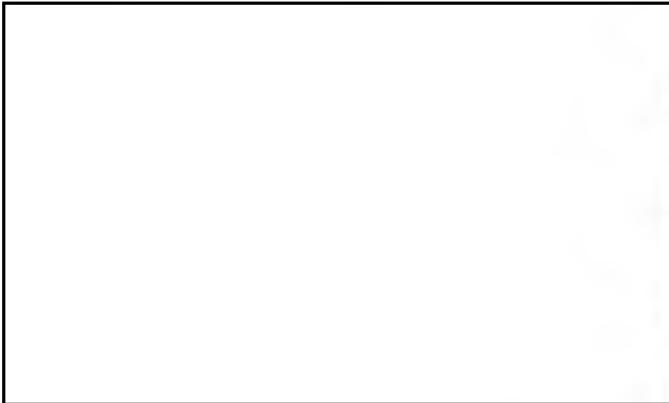
25X1

Haykal was slow to join the Sadat camp, and consequently spent most of 1971 repairing his relationship. By late in the year, however, he was described variously as "as close to Sadat as he had been to Nasir" and as "close adviser to Sadat," as well as speechwriter for Sadat's major addresses. The alleged closeness did not last long. His influence began to wane; his articles no longer reflected official policy and, in fact, became increasingly critical. He was especially critical of Sadat's policies toward the United States and the USSR and disengagement negotiations with Israel.

25X1

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There was some rapprochement between the two in late 1974 and Haykal resumed his presidential speechwriting duties, but this came to an end in the summer of 1975 with the publication of *Road to Ramadan*, Haykal's analysis of the 1973 war. Sadat's veiled response to Haykal was a press campaign against the journalist in *al-Akhbar*. [redacted]



Al-Ahali's
Khalid Muhyi-al-Din.

25X

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Since then, Haykal has traveled throughout the Arab Middle East and the rest of the world. He publishes frequently in the British and Arab press, but only on two occasions did he publish in the Egyptian press. In July 1975 in *al-Ahram*, he defended Nasir on the occasion of the 23rd anniversary of the revolution. In April 1978 in an article in the leftwing opposition weekly, *al-Ahali*, he urged Sadat to acknowledge publicly the failure of his peace initiative and implicitly called for leftists in Egypt and Nasirists to unite against Sadat. [redacted]

25X

X1

Haykal remains respected throughout the Arab World. Although since Nasir, Haykal's contacts with ruling circles (he used to entertain heads of state in his home) have been sporadic, he continues to receive distinguished Egyptian and foreign visitors in his offices, and his opinions continue to be solicited by the Egyptian intellectual establishment. His travels in recent years on his own initiative, designed to enhance his prestige, make it unlikely that Sadat can silence him entirely. [redacted]

25X

On the other hand, conversion of Haykal to Sadat's side would be a major boost for Sadat. It would help solve Sadat's domestic image problem and would be a major factor in garnering Arab support for Sadat. [redacted]

Khalid Muhyi-al-Din (b. 1922)

Muhyi-al-Din is an influential Communist who publishes *al-Ahali* and is leader of the Progressive National Organization, a leftist political party. He has been described as the wealthiest Communist in the Middle East. [redacted]

X1

Muhyi-al-Din favors restricting the open door in favor of increased Egyptian economic independence. He maintains that laissez-faire capitalism is inherently incapable of providing fair distribution of wealth. He also demands a more effective role for the People's Assembly. [redacted]

25X

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Prior to the establishment of *al-Ahali* Muhyi-al-Din resented being denied a regular media outlet. Now that the paper's status is uncertain, Muhyi-al-Din will probably become more intractable in his demands.

Although not a particularly effective journalist, Muhyi-al-Din, a member of Parliament, has frequently been involved in press endeavors. In the 1940s he edited clandestine Free Officer pamphlets, and later handled the publications network for the coup. He founded *al-Masaa* in the 1950s as Egypt's first extreme leftwing paper, ran *al-Akhbar* for a while, and was subsequently eased out of mainstream politics. Muhyi-al-Din has, however, maintained his present parliamentary seat for 15 years.

Anis Mansur

Mansur, board chairman and editor of the regime-favored *October* magazine, is a man in whom Sadat has a great deal of confidence. He is the current source of authoritative leaks in the Egyptian press. The President frequently expresses his foreign policy views in *October* in the form of personal interviews accorded Mansur

Mansur's career otherwise appears undistinguished over the past 30 years. Reportedly a prolific author, he is not touted in literary circles. He has a longtime reputation as both anti-Jewish and anti-Communist. This latter virtue may well provide the rationale for his appointment.

Mustafa Kamal Murad (b. 1927)

Murad is not a journalist but is leader of a rightwing political opposition party and spokesman for its paper, *al-Ahrar*. Murad was a former Free Officer who took part in the 1952 revolution and has served in Parliament since 1960.

A successful, Western-oriented businessman, Murad resigned from his business responsibilities in October 1977 in order to devote himself to politics. Murad is a Sadat supporter. He accompanied Sadat to Jerusalem and has access to the President in other matters, but the two are not known to be personally close. Murad is an independent thinker who does not hesitate to voice his opposition to government policies. Murad's views are largely ineffectual.

Murad's philosophy appeals to upper- and middle-class professionals. He is a consistent proponent of capitalism and believes that a heavy reliance on market forces is the solution for Egypt's economic problems.

Musa Sabri (b. 1924)

Musa Sabri, board chairman and editor-in-chief at the *Akhbar al-Yawm* Press, is a close personal friend of President Sadat. He is reported to be a vehicle for disseminating government views, especially on domestic matters. It was Sabri, for instance, who led a press assault against Muhammad Haykal in 1975. Sabri accompanied Sadat to Jerusalem in November 1977, then returned to Israel in January 1978 as guest of the Israeli newspaper, *Haaretz*. Sabri traveled to the United States with Sadat in April 1978 and returned in August for the meetings at Camp David.

Sabri is Egypt's leading Coptic journalist and was an early Sadat supporter. In return—and probably for his own reasons as well—Sadat supported Sabri's candidacy as president of the Press Guild in the 1971 elections. (Sabri did not win the election;

Sabri, a protege of the Amin establishment, began his career in journalism in the 1940s, and came to *Akhbar* as a reporter in 1950. Although his career is not distinguished by brilliance, he edited at various times during the Nasir era both *al-Akhbar* and *al-Jum-huriya*. Since 1969 he has been an *Akhbar* editor, where he writes regularly for all the organization's publications.

Amina al-Said (b. 1915)

Amina al-Said is a distinguished journalist of long standing. In 1939 she became one of the first women in Egypt to obtain a university degree. The next year she founded *Hawaa* (Eve), a magazine devoted to women's affairs. *Hawaa* is published by the Hilal organization which Said now heads. [redacted]

X1

25X6

[redacted]
Said has a strong professional reputation. She has accompanied President Sadat on all of his peace-initiative travels. She is Western-oriented both culturally and intellectually. [redacted]

X1

Mursi al-Shafi

Shafi, editor and board chairman at *Rose al-Yusuf*, is [redacted] although he has been in the field for over 30 years. He is a strong anti-Communist, and was appointed to his current job to curb the Marxist intellectualism for which *Rose al-Yusuf* was known. [redacted]

6

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Appendix

Major Newspaper Publishing Enterprises

There are five major newspaper publishing enterprises in Egypt. These are listed below with notations indicating board chairmen, publications, and nature and frequency of publication.

Dar al-Ahram, Ali Hamdi al-Jamal:
al-Ahram—morning daily.

al-Ahram al-Iqtisadi—biweekly, economic.
al-Siyasa al-Dawliya—quarterly, international affairs.

Center for Political and Strategic Studies: occasional white papers.

Dar Akhbar al-Yawm, Musa Sabri:
al-Akhbar—morning daily.

Akhbar al-Yawm—Saturday (weekend) edition of *al-Akhbar*.

Akhir Saa—weekly (Wednesday).

Dar al-Hilal, Amina Said:

al-Musawwar—weekly (Thursday), current events pictorial.

Hawwa—weekly (Saturday), women.
al-Kawakib—weekly (Tuesday), social.

al-Hilal—monthly, general interest.

Dirisat Ishtirakiya—monthly, socialist studies.

Dar Rose al-Yusuf, Abd al-Rahman al-Sharqawi:

Rose al-Yusuf—weekly, current events.

Sabah al-Khayr—weekly, satire.

Dar al-Tahrir, Muhsin Muhammad:

al-Jumhuriya—morning daily.
al-Masaa—evening daily.

French- and English-language dailies and weekend publications: *The Egyptian Gazette*, *The Egyptian Mail*, *Le Journal d'Egypte*, *Le Progres Egyptien*;

Among the above, the following are the most significant in order of importance: *al-Ahram*, *al-Akhbar*, *al-Jumhuriya*, *Akhbar al-Yawm*, *al-Musawwar*, *Rose al-Yusuf*, and *Akhir Saa*.

Several other organizations publish papers that are worthy of note:

Dar al-Maarif, Anis Mansur chairman (Egypt's largest book publishing house):
October—weekly pictorial magazine.

Political Groupings—all weeklies:
al-Ahali, Progressive National Organization (leftist).
al-Ahrar, Socialist Liberals Party (rightist).
al-Dawah, Muslim Brotherhood.

The above material is classified

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